

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 223246

FOLLOWING REPEAT STOCKHOLM 4140 ACTION SECSTATE INFO ANKARA  
ATHENS BONN BRUSSELS COPENHAGEN HELSINKI LISBON  
LONDON LUXEMBOURG OSLO OTTAWA  
PARIS REYKJAVIK ROME THE HAGUE NATO DATED 18 SEP

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STOCKHOLM 4140

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, SW

SUBJECT: US-EUROPEAN RELATIONS

REF: COPENHAGEN 2501, STOCKHOLM 3836 AND 4137, USNATO 4887

1. FROM PRIME MINISTER PALME'S STATED VIEWS ON SWEDEN'S  
RELATIONS WITH WESTERN EUROPE AND REPORTS OF COLLEAGUES  
ABOUT ATTITUDES IN DENMARK AND ELSEWHERE IT APPEARS THAT  
SMALLER EUROPEAN POWERS ARE GROPING FOR "EUROPEAN" SOLU-  
TIONS. SUCH "EUROPEAN" SOLUTIONS SEEM FRAUGHT WITH ANTI-  
ATLANTIC IMPLICATIONS. IN HIS REMARKS TO AMBASSADOR  
CROWE, DANISH FOREIGN MINISTER GULDBERG REVEALED A FRAME-  
OF-MIND A SHADE LESS THAN REASSURING FOR THE FUTURE OF  
ATLANTIC ECONOMIC COOPERATION, IN GENERAL, AND THE  
EUROPEAN SELECTION OF AN AMERICAN AIRCRAFT  
AS F104 REPLACEMENT, IN PARTICULAR. HIS BROAD HINT AT  
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THE NEED FOR EUROPE TO BECOME MORE COMPETITIVE IN THE

FIELD OF "AVIATION AND ELECTRONICS", BODES ILL FOR THE PROSPECTS OF THE "AMERICAN PRODUCT" IN COMPETITION WITH EUROPEAN MAKES. THIS ALLEGED NEED IS, TO MY KNOWLEDGE, THE PUNCH LINE OF THE MIRAGE AND VIGGEN SALES TALK, AND IT MIGHT BE ADDUCED IN ORDER TO PROMOTE MRCA.

2. ALTHOUGH NEITHER MY PERSONAL INCLINATIONS NOR MY ATTACHMENT TO THE ATLANTIC IDEA FIT ME FOR THE ROLE OF CASSANDRA, I MUST REPORT MY MISGIVINGS AS REGARDS THE EUROPEAN DRIFT. IT IS MY IMPRESSION THAT THE DANGER TO U.S. INTERESTS IS NOT SO MUCH A SLOW EROSION OF GOOD U.S.-EUROPEAN RELATIONS AS A CHARP SLIDE TOWARDS EUROPEAN SEPARATISM, DISSIMULATED BY LIP SERVICE TO THE CONCEPT OF ENDURING U.S.-EUROPEAN COOPERATION.

3. THE NERVES OF OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES AND FRIENDS (I COUNT SWEDEN QUALIFIEDLY AMONG THE LATTER) ARE NOT STRONGER NOW THAN THEY WERE AT THE HEIGHT OF THE OIL CRISIS WHEN THE EC STRAYED LAMENTABLY FROM THE PATH OF ATLANTIC COOPERATION. IF AT ALL, THEY ARE MORE FRAYED NOW THAN THEY WERE DURING THE MID EAST CRISIS WHEN THE FULL IMPLICATIONS OF INCREASED PRICE FOR OIL HAD NOT YET DAWNED UPON THE EUROPEANS.  
(STOCKHOLM 4137) A GENERAL POLITICAL MALAISE -- THE EROSION OF TRADITIONAL PARTY LOYALTIES AND THE INCREASED MILITANCY OF PRESSURE GROUPS, NOTABLY THE TRADE UNIONS -- MIGHT WELL PERSUADE EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS TO SEEK SALVATION IN "EUROPEAN" SOLUTIONS THAT SUBLIMATE DOMESTIC ANTAGONISMS INTO A CRABBED "EUROPEAN NATIONALISM" AT ODDS WITH THEIR PROFESSIONS OF ATLANTIC SOLIDARITY.

4. THE EUROPEANS, WHEN THEY THOUGHT THEIR ECONOMIC POWER ALMOST EQUAL TO THAT OF THE U.S., FAILED TO EMBRACE ENTHUSIASTICALLY OUR PROPOSALS FOR A NEW ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP. DEXTEROUSLY, WE MANAGED TO ESTABLISH THE BASIS FOR A RENEWAL OF THAT PARTNERSHIP. NOW, THE EUROPEANS HAVE BECOME AWARE OF THE FRAGILITY OF THEIR ECONOMY. IT IS NOT AT ALL CERTAIN THAT THE REALIZATION OF WEAKNESS WILL LEAD THEM TO CLOSER COOPERATION WITH US. TO THE CONTRARY, IT MIGHT ENGENDER A FLIGHT FROM WORLD POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY AND INTO NARROW EUROPEAN SEPARATISM.

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5. THE SMALL POWERS, BECAUSE THEY VIEW THEMSELVES AS HELPLESS IN THE FACE OF EVENTS THAT THEY HAD NO PART IN SHAPING, AND BECAUSE, IN THE PAST, THEY HAVE BEEN MOST EAGER TO STRIKE A BALANCE BETWEEN THEIR STAKES IN EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND THE AMERICAN CONNECTIONS, ARE STILL OUR MOST PROMISING PARTNERS IN THE ENDEAVOUR TO KEEP EUROPE OPEN TO OUR INFLUENCE AND TRADE. THIS IS TRUE NOT ONLY OF OUR

SMALLER ALLIES BUT ALSO, NOTWITHSTANDING THEIR CROTCHETS,  
THE NEUTRALS. AS MUCH FROM STOCKHOLM AS FROM MY FORMER  
POST, I URGE THAT WE TAKE PAINS TO SHOW THE SMALLER POWERS  
OF EUROPE THAT WE TAKE INTEREST IN THEIR PROBLEMS  
AND ARE WILLING TO HEAR THEIR VIEWS. AMBASSADOR CROWE'S  
REPORT ON DANISH VIEWS POINTS UP OUR INTEREST IN  
LENDING THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SMALLER POWERS  
A SYMPATHETIC EAR IN NEW YORK AND IN WASHINGTON.  
STRAUSZ-HUPE  
UNQUOTE INGERSOLL

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